



## Early Journal Content on JSTOR, Free to Anyone in the World

This article is one of nearly 500,000 scholarly works digitized and made freely available to everyone in the world by JSTOR.

Known as the Early Journal Content, this set of works include research articles, news, letters, and other writings published in more than 200 of the oldest leading academic journals. The works date from the mid-seventeenth to the early twentieth centuries.

We encourage people to read and share the Early Journal Content openly and to tell others that this resource exists. People may post this content online or redistribute in any way for non-commercial purposes.

Read more about Early Journal Content at <http://about.jstor.org/participate-jstor/individuals/early-journal-content>.

JSTOR is a digital library of academic journals, books, and primary source objects. JSTOR helps people discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content through a powerful research and teaching platform, and preserves this content for future generations. JSTOR is part of ITHAKA, a not-for-profit organization that also includes Ithaka S+R and Portico. For more information about JSTOR, please contact [support@jstor.org](mailto:support@jstor.org).

# THE ANTI-SALOON LEAGUE.

BY HARVEY GRAEME FURBAY, PH.D., FIELD SECRETARY  
OF THE LEAGUE.

---

IN December, 1887, the Temperance Alliance of Oberlin, Ohio, took the initiative in forming a Local Option League, to secure, if possible, some needed legislation. Three months later a League was organized among the churches in Lorain County, Ohio. On September 3rd, 1893, in Oberlin, the Ohio Anti-Saloon League was formally constituted. In December, 1895, in Washington, D. C., the American, or National, Anti-Saloon League was instituted. It is installed in thirty-five States and Territories.

The object of the League is the extermination of the saloon. It seeks the repeal of laws favoring the existence of the saloon and the enactment of laws contributory to its abolishment. Recognizing the principle that the enactment and enforcement of law is dependent upon the desire of the majority in a community, the League endeavors to keep abreast of that sentiment, if it be progressive, and to awaken or develop it by educational methods, if it be dormant or lethargic.

The tangible, visible part of the League is the corps of workers; the vital part is the supporting constituency, which is a moral force as well as a financial support. This constituency is composed of those persons who favor an advance in restrictive liquor legislation and consistent enforcement of existing liquor laws. Politically, this constituency is drawn from all parties; morally, it embraces adherents of all phases of religious belief as well as those who are followers of no creed.

The executive agents of the League can continue their work only as long as they are faithful to the principles in which this constituency believes, and as long as they are efficient in producing a dividend of results adequate to the money expended. A

safeguard against ineffectiveness is found in the supervision of Boards of Trustees for State organizations, and Headquarters Committees for the sub-organizations. The authority of these organizations insures the integrity and trustworthiness of the workers in this cause to as great an extent as in any other business governed by a directorate.

The working force of the League, at present, in the thirty-five States and Territories in which it is organized is represented by two hundred and fifty persons. These persons give their whole time to the work. The entire work of the movement, indeed, does not devolve upon them, nor is that which is accomplished to be wholly credited to them. Thousands of clergymen and laymen only await definite instructions to exert their energy and influence in favor of given policies. The official agents of the League are sentinels, as it were, heralds, and, in some instances, captains. Those who constitute the great army of workers simply await the warning, the proclamation or the command that will cause it to move simultaneously to the point of defence or attack.

The policy of the League is practical rather than theoretical. It demands tangible results. What is practicable in Brockton, Massachusetts, may be impossible in Peoria, Illinois. While the general purpose of the League is unchanged, the means used to secure ultimate results will differ in different localities. In Illinois there is no law that would give to Peoria the right to create conditions such as exist in Brockton. The League would interest itself, then, in seeing that existing laws were enforced in Peoria, Illinois, to whatever extent public sentiment there would support. The League would conduct a campaign of education in order to beget a desire on the part of the people of Illinois for liquor legislation as restrictive as would be tolerated. In fact, this has been done. A Local Option Bill is now before the Legislature of Illinois.

The methods of the League are political, but not partisan. The League never can present candidates for office, for, if it should do so, it would cease to be a popular League. The political power of the League depends upon its honesty in dealing with candidates for political office impartially and without partisan bias. The League represents the sentiment for restrictive liquor legislation in all parties, and makes its force felt by administering

punishment to the recreant, regardless of party. It is interested in securing liquor-restriction laws and having them enforced; hence, in the election of the members of the State Legislature, it uses its influence to prevent the choice of any man who may be unfavorable to the laws it desires to have enacted. If the dominant party in a legislative district nominates for the Legislature a man who is favorable to the temperance issues, the League stands aloof. If the nominee is unfavorable to the temperance issues, the League will help to elect a temperance man against him, regardless of party affinities.

Thus, in the State of Ohio, during the last eight years, over seventy members of the Legislature (who were entitled by the custom of their parties to renomination and re-election), who had been antagonistic to legislation which the League desired, were opposed by the League; and every one of them was defeated.

The League is interested in the executive officers whose duty it is to enforce the laws. In Cuyahoga County, Ohio, in the fall election of 1902, a candidate for County Prosecutor, who, as a member of the preceding Legislature, had been unfriendly to temperance legislation, was considered by the League an undesirable man. His legislative record was put by the League in the hands of every Christian voter in Cuyahoga County, and he suffered an overwhelming defeat, although other candidates on his ticket were elected.

In California, the Board of Supervisors is the County Legislature. The Anti-Saloon victories in San Diego, San Bernardino, Los Angeles, and Alameda Counties were made effective by the election of county officials pledged to vigorous enforcement of law. Where all regularly nominated candidates were seriously objectionable, independent candidates were supported by the League and triumphantly elected.

In Nebraska, in the election of Governor in 1902, there was a direct issue between the liquor interests and the League. John H. Mickey, the successful candidate, had been nominated by a Convention of which two hundred members were Leaguers; so, not only his election but his nomination was the product of the League's work.

In Oklahoma, a District Judge and Associate Justice of the Supreme Court (in this Territory judges hold the two offices) was manifestly against the Anti-Saloon policy, and was biased

in favor of the liquor men. The Anti-Saloon League secured evidence of his unfitness and presented it to President Roosevelt, who promptly required his resignation.

The contention of the League is, that the saloon is a liability from an economic standpoint. Business men and business interests are sustaining this proposition. In Collinwood, Ohio, when the Local Option election was called, the Lake Shore & Michigan Southern Railroad, which has its repair shops there, announced that if the town went "dry" it would enlarge its plant by the expenditure of \$1,000,000. The town promptly voted out the saloons, and the railroad began its improvements.

The Warren Featherbone Company, of Three Oaks, Michigan, offered to pay the taxes ordinarily received from the saloons if the saloons were voted out; otherwise, it would be necessary for them to find another location. The saloons were banished.

In Leipsic, Ohio, the Ohio Stave Company awaited the result of a saloon or no saloon vote as the determining factor with regard to their investing \$100,000 in a plant in that town.

The liquor interests constantly make the assertion that elimination of the saloons, especially in high license or high tax districts, will increase taxes. The experience of Local Option communities has indicated that the contrary is the truth. The Secretary of the Ohio Brewers' Association admits that there is no record of a town in Ohio, or in the United States, which shows an increased tax rate or a decreased volume of business to be due to banishing the saloon.

The saloon is the distributing and collecting agent for the manufacturer. On an average, sixty-six per cent. of money received by the retail liquor dealer passes immediately out of his hands to pay the manufacturer, the transportation companies, and the United States internal revenue. If this money remained within the local community and became a part of its working capital, it must necessarily increase the property valuation and yield a revenue in the ordinary routine of taxation. That this money does remain in the community, and does enter other lines of business, is shown by the experience of Local Option communities in which other lines of business invariably show an increased volume after the saloon has been abolished.

There are thirteen cities in the United States, each having a population of more than 30,000, that have no saloons. The ag-

gregate population of these cities is 648,285. Thirteen other cities, corresponding, in sequence, in size with the ones first mentioned, have twelve hundred and sixty-eight saloons and a population of 652,200. In the cities without saloons, during the year 1901-02, the total number of arrests was 23,896, or thirty-seven per thousand of population. In the cities with saloons, for the same period, there were 37,147 arrests, or fifty-six per thousand.

The property valuation *per capita* in the "dry" cities is \$724.99, and in the "wet" cities \$488.04. The average total tax in the cities without saloons is \$24.01 on the \$1,000, while in the cities with saloons it is \$31.49. In the smaller municipalities the same results are seen, with but rare exceptions.

The educational part of the work of the League embraces the collection and publication of such data, and gradually the fallacies perpetrated by the advocates of the liquor trade are being exposed. In eight States the League has a weekly paper with 50,000 subscribers. Eighteen States publish a monthly paper, and have 135,500 subscribers.

It is the desire of the League, finally, to send a trained speaker into every church congregation, at least once during the year, to give a detailed report of the work which has been done and of the plans framed for the future, and to communicate authentic data respecting the different phases of the saloon interests.

In Oregon, Virginia, New York, Tennessee, Washington, and Wisconsin the League has secured within the last year desired legislation. In some instances, as in the case of Virginia, it has achieved all for which it contended; in others, as in Wisconsin, the result was but a small part of what was attempted.

The general influence of the League has been felt to a remarkable degree in church circles. In every locality where the League has been active there has been a development of the spirit of unity among all church denominations. The League furnishes an opportunity to the various branches of the church for federating their forces without surrendering their individuality or departing from characteristic dogma and polity. Protestants and Catholics unite their forces heartily in local campaigns against the saloon. The records show that, where the Catholic Total Abstinence Society exists, the Catholic vote has been against the saloon.

The League is securing, through its law enforcement depart-

ment, a greater respect for the law. Disregard for law, where it exists, is traceable invariably to the saloon's defiance of law. Where respect for laws made for the regulation or suppression of the saloon is established, marked advance is seen in the general respect for the law in general and for the administration of all municipal affairs.

In a very large number of towns in Ohio, the local issue in the spring election of 1903 was law enforcement, and this was due to the agitation of the League. Reform candidates in many towns and cities were elected. Already, a better condition exists in the State because of the enforcement of statutes against Sunday opening, against screens, slot machines, and wine-rooms.

Local Option elections in Ohio have resulted so generally against the saloon\* that the Brewers' Association has notified retailers that strict observance of existing laws seems the most rational way of avoiding a vote on the question.

The enforcement of law is dependent upon public officers; and, usually, after the saloon has been prohibited in municipalities, the issue in the next municipal election is whether the law has been enforced. The League interests itself in the public conduct of municipal officers, and the result has been that a higher type of men has been secured. In most instances, these men have been selected because of personal character rather than party affinities.

For the year ending December 1st, 1902, the fund available for all branches of the League's work in the United States was \$235,000. The indications are that not less than \$500,000 will be furnished for the current year.

The probable trend of restrictive liquor legislation, for which the League will stand as a unit, will be to extend Local Option in such a way that an entire State may be covered by geographical units, including municipalities and rural districts. For the larger municipalities some form of district or ward Option Law will be favored. It is probable that the League will favor further restrictions in those municipalities and other localities which vote to continue the sale of liquors, by having the sale of liquors placed in the hands of special agents rather than allowing it to remain in the hands of the class of men who now conduct it.

HARVEY GRAEME FURBAY.

\* During the ten months ending April 30, 1903, 145 towns, ranging from 16,000 population down, out of 200 voting, have voted "dry."